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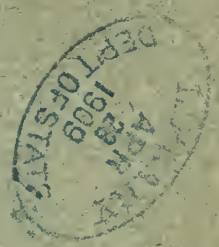
JEFFERSON COUNTY PRIOR TO 1797

By

ROBERT LANSING



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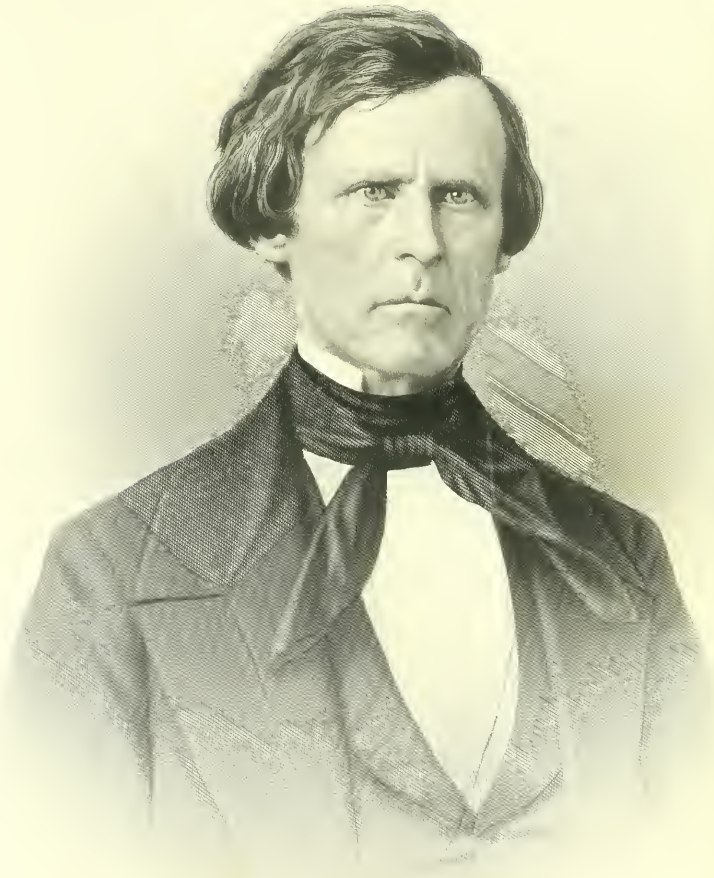

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Jefferson County Prior to 1797

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JEFFERSON COUNTY PRIOR TO 1797

An Address delivered at the Jefferson County Centennial in June, 1905

By

ROBERT LANSING

(Reprint from the published proceedings issued by the Jefferson County Centennial Committee, Watertown, N. Y.)

The strip of land, which lies between the eastern waters of the Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan, has been for nineteen centuries sacred to Christendom as the home of the Chosen People and the birthplace of the Christ. Yet had it never been distinguished by these events of such moment to the world, it would still have aroused historically a profound interest. Across its rugged uplands and through its fertile valleys marched the master-empires of the earth. The armies of Assyria and Babylon, of Egypt and Persia, of Greece and Rome, of the Saracen, the Crusader and the Corsican passed along its highways and fought their battles at the foot of its mountains. It was the ever-debatable ground of the Orient, and the nation which controlled its deep-worn caravan routes between the Euphrates and the Nile was the ruler of the world.

From an historical point of view the land of Palestine finds a counterpart on the continent of North America where there is an area over which have fought the warriors of contending nations upon whose success or defeat has depended the sovereignty of the

western world. While Palestine hemmed in between the sea and the deserts offered but one passage for the armed hosts of the past, this new land of contest, lying south of the River St. Lawrence presented two routes by which the people holding the north or south could invade the territory of the other; the one, by Lake Champlain, Lake George and the tributaries of the Hudson; the other, by the upper St. Lawrence and the eastern waters of Ontario. Between these two great water-ways lay, like an island, the desolate and broken highlands of the Couch-sach-ra-ge, "the dismal wilderness," whose mountain-ridges and tumbling streams offered almost insurmountable difficulties to the movement of large bodies of men, and even prevented smaller bands from attempting its fastnesses.

Thus the area, which is today called "The Adirondack Wilderness", divided this land of conflict into two distinct regions; and we are to devote our attention to the western of these, where Ontario's waters, flowing between the islands, which lie like stepping stones from its northern to its eastern shore, are gathered into the Great River of Canada. Across the eastern end of the lake, among the islands of the St. Lawrence, and through the surrounding forests have passed Algonkin and Iroquois warriors; Hurons and Abenakis; the French grenadier and the Scotch Highlander; Hessian chasseurs, American rangers, and the marauders of Johnson and Brant; the raw militiaman of the young republic and the veteran guardsman of Britain.

It was a land of scalping parties, of ambuscades and of sleepless vigils, a neutral ground for parley where "bearers of belts" met and kindled their council-fire, a place where a lonely scout silently paddled his canoe beneath the over hanging boughs. How many tales of war and death and savage life the waves of Ontario and the moss-clothed rocks of the St. Lawrence could tell—tales, which have never found their way into history but were forgotten long before the axe and the plow had won a home for the white man in these forests.

Chorography

The region, now occupied by Jefferson County, is separated by Black River into two natural divisions. That to the south rising in ridges from the lake and the river valley forms the watershed between the Mohawk and Ontario. It has been termed "The Lesser Wilderness" in contradistinction to the "Great Wilderness" of the Adirondack region. The section to the north of Black River is an undulating plain with innumberable small lakes and marshy

tracts, which in former days abounded with beaver and otter. It was, even to a comparatively recent period, a favorite hunting ground for the Iroquois, although before it was visited by white men the beaver had been almost exterminated.

Prehistoric Remains[1]

Along the lower terraces of the uplands, through the Black River valley, and at several places north of the river, particularly in the vicinity of Perch Lake, have been found the evidences of prehistoric occupation. They consist of embankments, more or less extensive in size and regular in form, which appear to have been in some cases defensive works and in others the foundations of huts such as were commonly constructed by the American aborigines. Within and about these enclosures have been dug up at different times large numbers of flint flakes, stone implements, pieces of pottery, charred grain, and in a few instances human bones.

Time will not permit to describe in detail these remains or to discuss their origin, which have been for over a century fertile subjects of study and speculation. The pioneer observer, who recorded his investigations, was the Rev. John Taylor, a New England missionary, who in 1802 journeyed through the "Black River Country" from Ellisburgh to Champion.[2] His journal has a peculiar interest being illustrated with diagrams of the earthworks which he visited in the territory now occupied by the towns of Ellisburgh, Adams, Rodman and Watertown.

As Mr. Taylor had the opportunity to make his examinations before the forests had been felled and the ground leveled by cultivation his record is of exceptional value, but the same cannot be said of his comments upon the origin of the mounds and of his speculations as to their builders, in which the Lost Tribes of Israel are not forgotten.

American archeologists of more recent years deny the theories of their predecessors regarding the Mound Builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The belief in a prehistoric race superior to the Indians whom the white men found in the American forests has fallen before a more scientific examination of the evidence. Instead of a mysterious people related in culture, if not in blood, to the Aztecs and Zunis, the constructors of the famous mounds are now said to have been a nation of red men known as the Alleghans, who came from the northeast to the headwaters of the Ohio, presumably forced to emigrate by more warlike tribes. Further investigation has identified this people, whose name is perpetuated in the great range of the Alleghanies, with the Cherokee Nation resident during historic

times in Tennessee; and etymologists have shown that the Cherokee language has a close affinity to the Iroquois-Huron languages.[3]

It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that a civilization with similar characteristics, though not necessarily of equal development, would be found in these related nations. If the Alleghans or the Cherokees were the builders of the extensive earthworks of the Ohio valley, the presumption is that their kindred, the Iroquois or Hurons, constructed the mounds in the vicinity of the eastern end of Ontario, provided that either of these nations occupied this region in former times.

Such a conclusion, it is true, robs the student of an attractive field for speculation. The remote past becomes comparitively modern. The vanished race of Mound Builders which once lived in our school histories, gives place to the rude savages who ranged these forest, when Europeans first set foot on this continent. Today this seems the most probable solution of the origin of the remains in this section, and, since absolute proof appears to be unattainable, probability is as near as we can come to the truth.

The Iroquois.

The aborigines who claimed sovereignity over this region prior and subsequent to the historic period were the Iroquois[4] a warlike people, whose villages extended from the Hudson River along the Mohawk Valley and the lakes of central New York to the neighborhood of Niagara. Though composed of five independent nations, each speaking a distinct dialect, the Iroquois were united in a confederacy variously termed the "Hodenosaunee" (People of the Long House), "the Iroquois Confederacy," and "the League of the Five Nations."[5]

Beginning at the Hudson and proceeding westward the confederated nations occupied the land in the following order, the Mohawks, the Oneidas, the Onondagas, the Cayugas, and the Senecas. Of these the Mohawks, were the most formidable and influential and the Senecas, the most numerous, while the Onondagas from their central position and from the fact that the great council fire of the Confederacy was kindled in their territory rivalled the Mohawks in influence, as they did the Senecas in numbers.

The character of the Iroquois and particularly that of the Mohawk, was peculiarly abhorant and repulsive according to modern standards. Fierce, cruel and brutal, his nature was devoid of the finer sentiments of love and mercy. He seemed to lack natural affec-

tion and to be controlled by his passions. Even his fidelity was rather that of the brute than of the man. Devoted to the chase he hunted men as he did animals, for the sole gratification of his ferocious instincts, finding his chief delight in massacre and in the torture of his captives. In person foul, in life degraded, it is only in his poetic imagination and in his eloquence at the council-fire that the Iroquois warrior rose above the beast.[6] Add to the ferocity of his disposition, his tenacity of purpose, his sagacity in war and council, his powers to endure hunger, cold and privation, and his fortitude under torture—add these qualities, and he becomes, as he was, the most powerful and most dreaded of the Indian race.

Though their fighting force appears to have never exceeded twenty-five hundred warriors, the confederates annihilated nation after nation destroying with relentless fury thousands and tens of thousands of men, women and children, until from the St. Lawrence to the Potomac and the Tennessee, and from Nova Scotia to the Mississippi, they were masters supreme. A more remarkable record of conquest can scarcely be found in the pages of the world's history, and well are they entitled to the name which has been given them, "the Romans of the West."[7]

Although opinions may differ as to the personal characteristics of these savages and as to the motives which influenced their lives—for even they find apologists—there can be but one as to the important part which the Confederacy played in the struggle between England and France for the sovereignty of North America. In the early part of the 17th century the French explorer Champlain accompanied a band of Algonkins to the lake which bears his name. There they met and defeated, chiefly through the effectiveness of the firearms of the white men, a party of Mohawks. This act in conjunction with the later alliance of the French with the Hurons, Algonkins and other heriditary foe of the Iroquois aroused in them a bitter hostility to the Canadian settlers, which for a century and a half yielded neither to the diplomacy nor arms of France. Stretching like a slender chain between the rival colonies of the two great European powers the Five Nations formed an impassible barrier to French advance southward, and a sure bulwark to the Dutch and English settlements. Never swerving in its friendship to England, or rather in its hatred of France, the Confederacy held in check the enemy until the Anglo-Saxon, gathering force and vigor behind this savage rampart, took the offensive and compelled France to relinquish her dominion over Canada. The services rendered to England by the Iroquios are inestimable. Without their

undying hatred for the French the whole course of American history might have been changed.[8]

It was this league of indomitable warriors, and the Oneidas and Onondagas in particular, who held in insecure tenure, as a portion of their hunting grounds, the territory which now forms Jefferson County; and, though after the arrival of the Europeans on the St. Lawrence and the Hudson these Indians never permanently occupied it, they had here a few fishing villages and winter camps for hunting.

Indian Trails and Canoe Routes.

This region, however, was chiefly a land of passage for the Iroquois in their excursions to the beaver-lands north of Lake Ontario, to which they claimed title, and for their war-parties against the French on the St. Lawrence and the western Indians coming to the Montreal fur-market by way of the Ottawa River.

The canoe route from the Onondaga Nation to Canada passing down the Oswego River skirted the eastern shore of Ontario to Stony Creek in the present town of Henderson; a mile up this stream there was a short "carry" to the head of Henderson Harbor; here the route divided; the one to the Ottawa following the lake islands, Stony, the Galloups and the Ducks, to the northern shore, and thence by the Cadaraqui River, on which Kingston now stands, and by the Rideau to the Ottawa; the St. Lawrence route passed from Henderson into Chaumont Bay, where the voyager could cross to the river by the "Long" or "Short Carrying Place" on Point Penninsula, or paddle up Chaumont River to the head of navigation, from which a portage of six miles brought him to French Creek at Clayton.[9]

From the Oneida country two routes passed through this section. The first, and most generaly travelled, began with a long "carry" from Oneida Lake to the Salmon River at some distance from its mouth and thence to Ontario where it followed the Onondaga route.[10] The second was from the Mohawk up West Canada Creek, thence through the forest to the headwaters of the Black River, down which the Oneida paddled to the neighborhood of the present site of the village of Great Bend, where he took a trail which soon brought him to the Indian River; here again launching his canoe he followed the winding stream to Black Lake, from which he reached the St. Lawrence by the Oswegatchie River.[11]

It has been necessary in these remarks concerning the Iroquois and their routes through this region to consider some things, which come

chronologically later, but the intimate connection of this people with our subject both prehistorically and historically, has compelled this digression.

Iroquois Myth and Tradition.

The Indians of North America possessed strong imaginative powers, which found expression in the poetic imagery of their orators and the folk-lore of their medicine-men. In two of the tales, which were often repeated in the "long-houses" of the Confederacy, this region prominently figures. One is purely mythical; the other, traditional.

The myth is one of several concerning the origin of the Iroquois race.[12] Upon the banks of one of the small streams flowing northward into the south branch of Sandy Creek, where the rocks are piled in confused heaps and where once stood a grove of giant pines, there issued from a subterranean world by a way torn open by the thunder blast of "Ha-wen-ne-yu," the Great Spirit, a red-skinned man and woman. Following down the little rivulet to the larger stream the pair rejoicing in their new-found world of light, built their hut where the salmon crowded the rapids in floodtime, where the beaver abounded, and where the woods were filled with moose and elk. Here in the forest gloom of this hunter's paradise the first Iroquois reared their children and founded a race of future conquerors. Such was the legend recounted to many a band of Iroquois mourners, who gathered in the hut of the deceased after the funeral rites had been performed.

The tradition which has to do with this section is one concerning the migration of the ancestors of the Five Nations from the neighborhood of Montreal to their later home in central New York.[13] When the Iroquois were but one nation and few in number, so the tale runs, they lived along the northern shore of the St. Lawrence below its rapids engaged in the peaceful pursuit of agriculture.[14] Here they were conquered by a savage tribe from the upper Ottawa, who lived solely by the chase and who often during severe winters were forced to sustain life by eating the buds and young bark of trees, from which circumstance the Iroquois termed them "Adirondacks", which means "tree-eaters."[15]

The brutal tyranny of their conquerors at last compelled the unwarlike Iroquois to open rebellion. Unsuccessful in their endeavor the vanquished fled up the St. Lawrence to escape the wrath of their masters. This flight was not one of a night nor of weeks but doubtless occupied years, the fugitives repeatedly facing their foe and gaining warlike skill by constant battle. Along the St. Lawrence and through the woodlands of Ontario's eastern shore the nation slowly retired con-

tending stubbornly for the new villages which they constructed, until finally, hopeless of peace, they turned inland, and crossing the ridges of the Lesser Wilderness or following up the Oswego River they founded a new home far away from the lands of the Adirondacks.[16]

It is but natural, as the legend unfolds and the long struggle for existence and freedom passes up the St. Lawrence to the shores of the lake that the mind should turn instinctively to the earthworks scattered through this county..

Was it here that the ancestors of the great Confederacy made their last stand before crossing the highlands into the valleys of the Mohawk and Onondaga? Was it here that the first Iroquois developed their wolf-like characteristics which made their posterity the scourge of eastern North America? An affirmative answer is mere conjecture based upon a tradition retold by generations, and yet it presents a possible explanation of the grass-grown trenches and ramparts, which invite the thought and consideration of the curious and the scholarly.

Samuel de Champlain.[17]

The historic period of this region begins with the adventurous expedition of Champlain, in the early years of the 17th century, to the western waters of the St. Lawrence system. There are four figures pre-eminent in the history of New France—Jacques Cartier, the discoverer of the St. Lawrence; Samuel de Champlain, the explorer of the Great Lakes; Rene Robert Cavalier, Sieur de La Salle, who gave the West to France; and Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, the greatest of the royal governors. Of these four the last three landed on these shores.

Samuel de Champlain, the son of a Biscayan mariner, was in 1603 commissioned by Henry of Navarre to explore the regions discovered by Cartier. Possessed of a powerful frame, indomitable energy and absolute fearlessness, this French sailor, already experienced in the hazards of the western ocean, was well fitted to undertake the mission. For twelve years he explored the eastern territory about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, but in July, 1615, he set out with two white companions and several Indians to visit the distant country of the Hurons lying about Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe. Having reached his destination by way of the Ottawa River Champlain joined a large war-party, which was about to proceed against the Iroquois, and paddling down the River Trent reached Ontario at the entrance of the Bay of Quinte.[18].

We can picture the bearded and sun-browned Frenchman in his steel cap and cuirass, his leathern garments stained and torn by the for-

est, seated in the bow of his birch canoe as it glided out upon the waters of the lake. We can imagine his feelings of ardor and expectation as unknown shores rose from the waves of this great inland sea. Behind and about him moved a fleet of canoes containing scores of swarthy warriors, whose naked bodies swaying to the sweep of the paddles shone with vermillion war-paint, while the eagle plumes of their war-caps bent to the lake breeze.

The exact course of this flotillia has been the subject of dispute, but whether they crossed to the eastern shore by the islands called the Ducks or about the head of Long Island (also named Grand Island), the band undoubtedly camped for a night at the foot of Galloup or Stony Island. So it was upon one of these that a white man first set foot on the soil of what is today Jefferson County. Ten years from now will be the tricentennial of that event. Would it not be appropriate if a monument could then be unveiled upon one of these islands in commemoration of the sturdy explorer who was the first to dare the unkrown waters of Ontario?

From the place of the first encampment two routes for the expedition have been suggested by the authorities, the one into Henderson Harbor and thence by land to Salmon River, the other by water along the cliffs of Stony Point and the sandy shores south to the same river. From an examination of Champlain's map of 1632 and judging from the known caution of the Indians in avoiding the rocky promitory of Stony Point it would seem as if each of these suggested routes was in part wrong It should be remembered that, while the topography of the region was unknown to the French explorer, it was undoubtediy familiar to many of the warriors who accompanied him. These would naturally have followed, and doubtless did, the usual Indian route to the head of Henderson Bay, crossed overland to Stony Creek and crept along the Ellisburgh shore to Salmon River. Here concealing their canoes in the forest, the Hurons, confident in the invincable character of their white allies, took the Oneida trail south.

The exact date when Champlain first beheld the waters and shores of eastern Ontario cannot be certainly determined, but it was sometime between the first and tenth day of October, 1615 . Before the 25th of the month he was again in his canoe speeding northward toward the Stony Creek portage. The attempt upon the Iroquois stronghold had failed and his undisciplined army of savages pursued by their foe had fled to the lakeshore. Champlain himself sorely wounded by arrows was borne through the forest on the back of a warrior, complaining bitterly at his lot but thankful to find the canoes unmolested by the enemy. With precipitate haste the beaten Hurons

crossed the lake to the northern shore, where they remained several weeks before proceeding homeward.

The Frenchmen had expected to return to Quebec by way of the St. Lawrence, but being unable to obtain canoemen they were forced to return to the Huron country for the winter. The following spring they reached the French settlements by way of the Otawa.

First Voyagers Among Thousand Islands.

Champlain did not explore the upper St. Lawrence, although some writers have so stated.[19] The honor of being the first white man to look upon the wondrous scenery of the Thousand Islands belongs to Pere Poncet, one of the early Jesuit missionaries, who was a prisoner among the Mohawks. In 1653 he succeeded in making his way to Ontario, and his Indian companions constructing a canoe near the outlet of the lake (probably in Henderson Harbor) paddled him down the St. Lawrence to Montreal.

The impressions made upon the black-robed missionary by the island scenery were far different from what we should have anticipated The dark foliage of the hemlock and cedar, the black rocks overgrown with moss and tangled vines seem to have produced a mental gloom akin to dread, rather than the admiration and pleasure usually excited by the wondrous beauties of the St. Lawrence. To the austere priest the beautiful was within, a purity of thought, a hope of eternity; all that was without was tainted with sin; all nature was an instrument in the hands of the Adversary to win men from their allegiance to God.[20]

A year after Father Poncet returned to Montreal Simon le Moyne, another member of the Order of Jesus, renowned for his discovery of the Onondaga salt springs, passed up the St. Lawrence in a canoe, and coasting along the eastern shore of Ontario entered the Oswego River. [21]

The decade which followed was the blackest period in the history of New France. The Iroquois, now skilled in the use of firearms which they obtained from the Dutch traders of Fort Orange, swarmed into the Canadian forests and skulked about the little settlements on the St. Lawrence. The Ontario route to the Ottawa was travelled by numerous war-parties, and scores of Iroquois canoes passed down from the lake to the neighborhood of Montreal in search of scalps and plunder. It was during the latter part of this decade, in 1661, that the courageous priest LeMoyne again visited the Thousand Islands and Ontario on his way to the Onondagas, daring a route that was everywhere infested by the Mohawk war-bands.

Two years later (1663) the valley of St. Lawrence was visited by an earthquake, of which the historian Charlevoix gives a most vivid description.[22]. Beginning in February with tremendous upheavals which overthrew mountains and changed the beds of rivers causing ing the greatest terror among the colonists, already harassed and disheartened by the depredations of the savages, the seismic disturbances continued until August becoming less and less frequent. Unfortunately there was no scientific observation or report of the result of the earthquake, so it is impossible to say what topographical changes took place, or to what degree it affected this region.

Courcelles and LaSalle.

When the fortunes of Canada had reached their lowest ebb Daniel de Remi, Seigneur de Courcelles, arrived as governor with the Marquis de Tracy as royal intendant. The governor's energetic policy of retaliation upon the Mohawks brought rest to the wearied colony. Negotiations for peace were renewed and the route to the Onondaga country was again frequented by white men.

It was about this time that Cavalier, better known to the world as La Salle arrived at Montreal. He was a young man not thirty years old, when, tempted by the tales told by Seneca traders of a great river flowing westward from the lands south of Ontario, he organized a small party to visit the unknown stream hoping that it would be found to empty into the Great South Sea. In seven canoes La Salle and his companions paddled up the St. Lawrence, and passing by the usual Indian route through this region he followed the lake shore to Irondequot Bay. Here we must leave the daring young explorer, though he will be found later in this neighborhood.

Canada now entered upon a period of rapid growth and development, as the direct result of the administration of her able intendant, Jean Baptiste Talon. He had at once recognized the strategic importance of the waterway at the eastern end of Ontario, and in 1670 strongly advocated the establishment in that region of a military post garrisoned with a hundred men and furnished with a galley which could be used to intercept the Iroquois war-parties passing between Henderson Bay and the Cadaraqui River or the St. Lawrence. Soon after recording this suggestion and apparently upon further information he advised the construction of two posts, the one on the north side, and other on the south side of the lake at its outlet.[23] Unfortunately for the future peace of New France this latter plan was either disapproved or ignored.

Governor Courcelles, perceiving, however, the necessity of protecting the Ottawa River from Iroquois depredations and making it a safe highway for the transportation of furs from the west, determined to personally inspect the region about the outlet of Ontario which seemed to be the key to the situation. He therefore set out from Montreal on June 3, 1671, with fifty-six companions. In order to impress the Indians with French ability he managed with much difficulty to drag up the rapids of the St. Lawrence a flat-bottomed galley of two or three tons burthen. On the 12th of June he entered Ontario.

Here he found encamped in the bays of the eastern shore engaged in fishing and hunting a number of Iroquois, who had been apprised of his coming by the Jesuit Simon le Moyne, whom the Governor had dispatched in advance to proclaim his pacific intentions. Somewhere on the shores of Chaumont, Henderson or Black River Bay Courcelles met the hunters, expressed to them his desire for their friendship and trade, and gave them letters for the missionaries laboring in their villages. Satisfied with the wonder caused by his galley and with the friendliness of the savages the Governor returned to Montreal convinced more than ever of the necessity of garrisoning the outlet of Lake Ontario

The chronicler of the expedition, while making much of the difficulties encountered in ascending the rapids of the St. Lawrence describes another annoyance with which those who today journey through the northern forests in June and July are unpleasantly familar. It was the mosquito or black fly; and of it the writer gave this vivid description: "It is a fly, similar to the French gnat, so tormenting that a vast number of them are constantly around you, seeking an opportunity to light on the face or parts of the body protected merely by a slight covering easily pierced by their sting, and are no sooner down than they suck blood, in place of which they deposit a species of poison, that excites a strange itching with a small tumor which lasts three or four days."[24] One can imagine Seigneur de Courcelles, famous for his elegance of manner and superbness of dress, his face distorted with the venomous bites of the insects, slapping, scratching and cursing with all the vehemance but none of the grace for which the courtiers of "Le Grand Monarch" were ever renowned.

Arrival of the Comte de Frontenac.

The year after this expedition its leader was forced to retire from the governorship on account of ill health. He was succeeded by the Comte de Frontenac. The new governor was a man of exceptional

ability and strength of character, though with extravagant tastes which he did not hesitate to gratify with money often obtained by very questionable means. He furthermore aroused the antipathy of the clergy by his high-handed methods, and it was chiefly through their efforts that he was finally recalled.

Frontenac immediately perceived the necessity of controlling the eastern end of Lake Ontario, and in 1673, the year after his arrival, he determined to inspect the region.[25] Having sent forward La Salle to the Onondagas to invite them to a council on the north side of the Lake, he started up the St. Lawrence and reached Ontario before the Indian deputies arrived. While awaiting their coming the Governor personally explored the eastern shore visiting the bays and islands of this section.

On the arrival of the Indians a great council, occupying several days, took place at Cadaraqui; and there Frontenac remained some time entertaining the Iroquois and extending his examination of the southern shore, until his men had completed a log fort, which with characteristic modesty he named "Frontenac" as he subsequently did the lake which it was intended to guard.

La Salle and Fort Frontenac.

La Salle, whose ability and enterprise appealed to the energetic governor, was shortly after the return of the expedition to Montreal given the command of the new post. Loving adventure and restless by disposition the young commandant often visited the islands and shores on this side of the lake, which he reported to abound with elk, deer, bear, otter and the grey moose. In his correspondence may also be found accurate descriptions of the wild fruits indigenous to the soil.[26]

In 1675 La Salle was granted a patent of nobility; and, upon condition that he construct a stone fort and garrison it, he was given seignorial authority over Fort Frontenac and the islands opposite it, together with the fishing rights over Ontario and its rivers.[27] The lake abounded in white fish, lake trout and other food fish, and the streams swarmed with salmon and brook trout. Even in the early part of the last century enormous catches of salmon were made in the Ellisburgh creeks. It was over these waters that Sieur de la Salle held the exclusive, but then useless privilege of taking fish; and the grant also included the equally valueless monopoly of hunting on the lake shores.

The Comte de Frontenac was accustomed to make an annual visit to the fort on the Cadaraqui, often extending his journey to the east-

ern shore of the lake, where he seems to have had in view the possibility of establishing another post, as the Intendant Talon had advocated.[28]

Hennepin.[29]

It was at this time that Louis Hennepin, a Reccolet friar (who subsequently published a book of his travels containing the first picture of Niagara Falls and other interesting illustrations) was stationed at Fort Frontenac to labor among the Indians encamped on the Cadaraqui and the Bay of Quinte. In the winter of 1677 accompanied by a soldier of the garrison he crossed the frozen lake on snow shoes to this region and thence made his way through the forest to Onondaga. He visited the Oneida and Mohawk villages, from which turning northward the two companions crossed the watershed between the Mohawk and Black Rivers, and following down the latter to Ontario finally arrived safely at Fort Frontenac.

Though the Chevalier de la Salle carried on an extensive trade with the Indians at Cadaraqui he failed to make the venture a financial success and in 1682 the Marquis de la Barre, who had succeeded Frontenac as governor, seized the seigniory during La Salle's absence in the Mississippi country on the ground that it was forfeited because the fort had not been maintained.

La Barre's Expedition to La Famine.[30]

Meanwhile the Iroquois, grown arrogant by their successes against the Indian allies of the French in the west, treated the garrison of Frontenac with increasing insolence, intercepted the canoes bringing furs from the upper lakes, and even plundered the bark with which the French navigated Ontario. [31] The disorders continued to increase in spite of the embassy of Charles le Moyne, the most famous Indian fighter in Canada, who in 1683 passed through this region to the Seneca country returning to Montreal with deputies from that nation.[32] Impelled by renewed outrages of the Iroquois, particularly against the Illinois, La Barre, a feeble and timid old man, decided finally to conduct a punitive expedition against the Senecas, who were the chief offenders. Collecting an army of eight hundred whites and two hundred Indians he proceeded to Fort Frontenac arriving there August 9, 1684.

Immediately on his arrival the governor despatched the Jesuit Jacques de Lamberville to his elder brother Jean, who was resident among the Onondagas, with the request that the latter use their influence with that nation to persuade the Senecas to an amicable set-

tlement of the differences between them and the French. At the same time he sent forward Sieur D'Orvilliers with two brigades and a party of Indian scouts to La Famine, which, La Barre reported was "a post favorable for fishing and hunting." A week later having received word that the Onondagas intended to send delegates to council with him, the governor embarked in his batteaux and canoes for La Famine.

The location of La Famine has been a subject of much controversy and discussion. After carefully weighing the evidence it seems probable that the place of meeting between La Barre and the Onondagas was at the mouth of Sandy Creek in Ellisburgh. No other spot seems to so fully coincide with the conditions described.[33]

The force which M. de la Barre led across Ontario to the marshy shores of this locality must have presented a strange appearance to one familiar with the usual order and discipline of a military expedition. Of over one thousand men but one hundred and thirty were regular troops. The remainder consisted of peasant militiamen, adventurers, coureurs de bois, Hurons, Ottawas, and Algonkins, with a number of Iroquois, who having been converted by the Jesuits had removed to Canada settling near Montreal and on the Bay of Quinte.

Of this little army the least amenable to discipline and the most picturesque were the coureurs de bois, unique products of the wilderness who had abandoned civilization for the freedom—or rather the license—of the forest.[34] A writer of the time says, that many of them had become veritable barbarians wearing the clout, leggins and head-dress of the Indians, their black beards and hair hanging over their naked breasts and shoulders, which exposure had bronzed to the color of their savage companions. They even employed for adornment vermillion war-paint and brass earrings; scalped their enemies; tortured their captives; indulged in the war-dance; uttered the war-whoop; and were the prey of superstition like the Indians whom they imitated.

These strange adopted sons of the wilderness play an interesting part in the border wars of Canada, now aiding and now resisting the French authorities, ambushing English and Dutch fur-traders in the west smuggling beaver-skins from the Ottawa to Fort Orange, or guiding a devoted priest through the forests. Governor Denonville said of them, that they were "tall and well-made, robust and active, and accustomed to live on little;" but that they were "guilty of an infinitude of disorders," and that "the most frightful crimes" were perpetuated by "the young warriors and the French who resort

to the woods." Uneducated, impatient of restraint, brutish in life, cruel and passionate, the coureurs de bois were a most uncertain factor in military operations.[35]

Starting from Fort Frontenac the galleys and canoes of La Barre, after battling with a strong head wind and high sea, reached Galloup or Stony Island, where they passed the night, and arrived at La Famine in the evening of the next day. There the Governor found the vanguard under D'Orvilliers suffering with many cases of an intermittant fever, which was probably the same as the malarial "lake fever" to which, the Rev. Mr. Taylor says, the early settlers of Ellisburgh were subject while cutting hay in the marshes. To add to the discomfort and depression of the army, dampness spoiled large quantities of the bread which had been baked at Frontenac, and a scarcity of provisions was imminent.[36].

When the Iroquois deputies arrived on September 3rd, they found La Barre, who had then been two weeks at La Famine with his fever-stricken and half-starved followers, ready to make peace on almost any terms. The council was brief and, through the influence of a Seneca chieftain who was present but took no part in the discussions, France, by the treaty which was signed on the 4th, ignominiously abandoned her western allies, becoming practically neutral in the war of extermination which the Senecas were waging against the Illinois. Immediately on the conclusion of the council the French set out for Fort Frontenac, abandoning many of their canoes and some of their batteaux because there were not enough men free from disease to man them.

The Jesuit Jean de Lamberville, who from the first had advocated peace rather than punishment, hailed La Barre as "the Liberator of his Country."[37] but Lewis XIV was not equally pleased. He informed the Intendant de Meules that he was much dissatisfied with the outcome of the expedition and was "seriously displeased" at the abandoment of the Illinois, the allies of France. At the same time the king wrote to La Barre relieving him from the governorship, politely adding "your years do not permit you to support the fatigues inseperable from the duties of your office."[38] So ended La Barre's American career. He was succeeded by the Marquis Denonville.

Denonville's Expedition.[39]

The new governor found affairs along the St. Lawrence in a very satisfactory state, but in the west it was far different. The Senecas with many of the Mohawks were vigorously prosecuting the war in the Illinois country, burning villages, laying waste the fields, and

murdering thousands. In order to divert the Senecas from their prey and to force their war-parties to return from the west, Denonville determined to invade their territory.

About the time that this expedition was to set out from Montreal, D'Orvilliers, the commandant at Fort Frontenac, seized by the governor's order, forty Iroquois encamped near the fort engaged in trade and sent them bound to Montreal. This was done for fear that these savages, though friendly to the French, might warn their kinsmen of the impending invasion.[40] It was an ill-judged act which bore bitter fruit.

Denonville, accompanied by the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, arrived at Fort Frontenac on July 1st, 1687, with seventeen hundred troops; and on the 4th the expedition in one hundred and forty batteaux and a large number of canoes set out for the Iroquois country "by way of La Famine." On the same day they very opportunely reached the "Island named des Galots", for a tempest swept over the lake shortly after their arrival. All that night and the following day the storm continued, and it was not until noon of the 6th that the batteaux could again be launched and the journey renewed. Before evening Denonville's boats had been drawn out on the sandy beaches near La Famine, where it would appear from later documents he established a temporary post to guard his line of communication.[41] In returning from the expedition the Governor crossed the lake near Niagara and followed the northern shore to Frontenac, thus circumnavigating the lake and not a second time visiting this region.

It is of interest to note that the converted Iroquois who accompanied Denonville were led by Kryn, "Le Grand Anie" (the Great Mohawk), as he was called by the French,[42] who two years later directed the savages in the attack upon Schenectady and became notorious as a marauder along the New England border.[43]

The Strategy of Kondiaronk.[44]

Another event, which occurred at this time and in this section, aroused the Onondagas and Oneidas even more than the unprovoked seizure of their warriors near Front Frontenac. Kondiaronk, better known as "Le Rat,"[45] a chieftain of the Dinondadies living at Michillimacinac, was suspected by the French of secret dealings with the Iroquois. The rumor reached the ears of the chief, and in order to convince his white friends of his fidelity and to secure their friendship he organized a war-party and set out for the Iroquois country by way of Fort Frontenac. Arriving at the post Kondiaronk found that, as a result of Denonville's expedition, the Oneidas and Onondagas

were disposed toward peace, and that their envoys were expected to pass Frontenac within a few days on their way to Montreal. The commandant urged the Dinondadies, therefore, to return home lest their presence might cause the Iroquois to be suspicious of the intentions of the French.

Kondiaronk seemingly complied with the request and led his war-party out of the fort. But it was not his purpose to allow the peace negotiations to continue, if he could prevent them, fearing that friendship between the French and Iroquois would be injurious to the interests of his nation. Crossing the lake by a circuitous route the chieftain concealed his warriors near the portage between Stony Creek and Henderson Harbor.[46] Two days later the unsuspecting envoys with forty companions arrived and were suddenly attacked by Kondiaronk and his men. The surprise was complete, all of the Iroquois being killed or captured.

The chieftain now exhibited a shrewdness, for which he was famous. He gave his captives to understand that he had ambushed them by direction of the French authorities; and they in turn told him of their mission and the promised safe-guard of the Governor. Upon hearing that the party which he had attacked were envoys, Kondiaronk evinced the greatest astonishment and, as Dr. Colden says, pretended "to grow Mad and Furious" declaring that he would "be Revenged of him (the Governor) for making a Tool of him to commit such horrid Treachery." Bewailing the fact that he had attacked the sacred persons of ambassadors through ignorance of their office, the wily chieftain as evidence of his sincerity set free his prisoners and furnished them with arms and ammunition. Completely deceived the Iroquois assured him of the gratitude of their people and turned back to their country.

Kondiaronk immediately recrossed the lake to Front Frontenac, presented himself before the commandant and exclaimed, "I have killed the peace." Without vouchsafing further explanation to the astonished officer he rejoined his warriors and was soon on his way to Michillimacinac. The results were all that the crafty savage could have desired; from one end of the Confederacy to the other sounded the war-songs and steamed the war-kettles, while the war-posts bristled with hatchets as their owners, daubed with the paint of battle, vowed vengance against the treacherous Frenchmen.

While hundreds of the infuriated Iroquois sought the lower St. Lawrence by the way of Lake Champlain killing and capturing scores upon scores of the settlers about Montreal, others equally enraged turned to the stone fort upon the Cadaraqui. Charlevoix

says that Lake Ontario, "was covered with the enemy's canoes." Party after party from the Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca cantons paddled along the lagoons of Ellisburgh, crossed the portage at Stony Creek and passed northward through Henderson Bay toward Frontenac. The fort was invested. A few of the garrison fell into the hands of the savages and as wretched captives passed through this region on their way to an agonizing death in the fires of the Iroquois villages. At last the defenders, few in number and hopeless of relief, destroyed their supplies, threw their cannon into the bay, scuttled their vessels, and blowing up the walls of the fort made good their escape to Montreal.[47]

The abandonment of the Cadaraqui station and also the fort at Niagara was a serious blow to the prestige of the French arms. The Iroquois controlled Lake Ontario, and the route at the eastern end of the lake, which led to the Ottawa, was open to their warriors. Band after band sought that highway to the west plundering and murdering the traders as they passed down the river with their bales of furs for the Canadian market. For a time the trade was paralyzed, and the chief source of revenue for New France was cut off.

Frontenac's Expedition Against the Onondagas.[48]

In this extremity the Court of Versailles, forgetting the short-comings of the Comte de Frontenac and remembering only his energy and ability, sent him out again as governor of the colony. Although the Iroquois had boastfully declared that the fort on the Cadaraqui should never be rebuilt, the sturdy governor sent a strong force to the place in 1695 and soon the white flag of France again floated above the stone bastions of Fort Frontenac.[49]

To still further impress the Onondagas—the nation he deemed most dangerous to French interest in the west—Frontenac determined to invade their territory and chastise them for their active hostility to France. Early in July, 1696, taking command in person he departed from Montreal with two thousand men including a large number of Indian allies. In advance of the vanguard went fifty coureurs de bois and Abenakis under the command of Mantet, notorious as the officer who directed the sack of Schenectady in 1690.[50] On July 18th the army arrived at Fort Frontenac. Eight days later they departed in batteaux and canoes and arrived at Grenadier Island where they encamped, Mantet and his scouts keeping well in advance of the main body. The day following the expedition made its camp on the Ellisburgh sands and on the 28th entered the Oswego River.

Three weeks later the courageous old nobleman, far past his "three score years and ten", feeble in body but indomitable in will, issued with his transports from the mouth of the Oswego. He had succeeded in humbling the haughty Onondagas, and had forced the Oneidas to sue for peace. In spite of a severe gale the fleet started on its homeward journey covering ten leagues the first day. The chronicler of the expedition says: "The navigation is quite dangerous for canoes and batteaux; the waves extraordinarily high and the land very difficult, there being numerous shoals in some places, and in others headlands against which the billows dash to a stupendous height." Here is evidently the impression made by a coasting voyage along the Ellisburgh shore and the cliffs of Stony Point. That night the army encamped "in a river," so the memoir states, though it was probably in Henderson or Chaumont Bay, and the next day arrived at Fort Frontenac.

From its rebuilding in 1695 until its capture by the English in 1758 the fort on the Cadaraqui was uninterruptedly maintained by the French. To those experianced with the conditions existing the control of Lake Ontario became an important factor in the rivalry between England and France for the possesion of North America. Canadian officials were continually urging their home government to establish a military post on the south side of the lake, which with Fort Frontenac and Fort Niagara would insure French control. The New York authorities were equally importunate in their demands for funds with which to erect a fort on the lake shore. Viewed from overseas things looked much less important than they did in the provinces, and neither the French nor English government appreciated the soundness of the advice. As a result the state of affairs remained practically unchanged for a quarter of a century, although France continued to extend and strengthen her chain of forts in the west.

Oswego.[51]

Governor Burnet of the Province of New York finally succeeded in 1726 in securing funds to erect a fort at the mouth of the Oswego River, where two years before a block house for trading purposes had been built. The following spring the work was commenced and soon completed though not without protest and menace on the part of the government of New France.

The French governor, the Marquis de Beauharnois, made formal protest to Governor Burnet, and at the same time sent the Chevalier Begon to Oswego.[52] Before reaching Fort Frontenac the Chevalier sent runners to the Onondagas and Oneidas requesting an interview.

In response envoys from the two nations met him on the "Ile aux Galots," where the council-fire was kindled, the pipe of peace smoked, and several days were passed in feasting and speech-making. Before leaving the island the Iroquois promised that they would insist upon the immediate withdrawal of the English from their lands—a promise which they never fulfilled and probably never intended to. Elated with the result of this interview Begon proceeded to Oswego and formally demanded the demolition of the fort. The demand was ignored by the English commander, and the Chevalier returned to Montreal having accomplished nothing by his mission.

The succeeding thirty years are uneventful in the history of this region. Both governments continued to strengthen their respective outposts and to watch with jealous eye the operations of the other. France constructed two or three small vessels at Fort Frontenac, and immediately England did the same at Oswego. These vessels built by the rivals seem to have been modelled on lines very similar to the flat-bottomed, sloop-rigged scows, which today navigate Ontario, except that they were furnished with banks of oars and carried an armament of small cannon.[53]

De Lery's Expedition.[54]

The renewal of hostilities in 1755 after seven years of uncertain peace had been anticipated. Governor Vaudreuil hastened reinforcements to Niagara and Frontenac and planned an immediate attack upon Oswego, which was however delayed on account of the lack of artillery. The energy of the French governor, the intrigues of Joncaire, the famous coureur de bois, with the Senecas, and the effect of the defeat of General Braddock upon the Indians placed the English outpost at Oswego in grave peril.

In March, 1756, De Lery, a Canadian lieutenant of colonial troops, led an expedition on snow-shoes from La Presentation (now Ogdensburg) against Fort Bull near the present site of Rome. De Lery passed through the eastern section of this county and, appearing suddenly before the English fort with two hundred and fifty Canadians and a hundred Indians, compelled its surrender. Having destroyed the stores which he found, the French commander hastened northward taking with him thirty prisoners. Among these was a trader, Robert Eastburn, who wrote an account of his experiences as a captive. Instead of returning by the same route by which he had come De Lery on reaching Black River appears to have followed its western and southern banks to Ontario. Here he was fortunate in finding near

the shore some batteaux from Fort Frontenac, which ferried him with his men and prisoners across the mouth of the river, whence he marched to the St. Lawrence and along its banks to La Presentation.

The French Camp on Six-Town Point.[55]

Doubtless the batteaux which were so opportunely in the neighborhood of Black River Bay, were engaged in the transportation of troops and supplies from Fort Frontenac to Six-Town Point where, in accordance with Vaudreuil's plan against Oswego, a fortified camp was to be constructed. As soon as the ice in the lake had broken up sufficiently for navigation (which seems to have been that year exceptionally early), Captain de Villiers, one of the most famous partisan leaders of Canada, was sent with eight hundred Canadians and Indians to establish a post "at the head of Nioure Bay," as the waters of Henderson and Black River Bays were called. This camp was intended as a base for scouting parties toward Oswego and the Mohawk.[56]

Within a few years the outlines of an entrenchment could be easily traced on that portion of the point known now as "Warner's Island." The work was a square with bastions at each corner, and extended between fifty and sixty feet on a side and was probably constructed of logs set upright in the ground. Situated on the inner side of the point this stockaded camp possessed exceptional advantages for watching the channel between the mainland and Stony Island and the harbor from which ran the portage to Stony Creek. It is appropriately named in the documents "Camp de l'Observation."

Dr. Hough in his history of Jefferson County also mentions another post established by the same officer at the mouth of Sandy Creek, but it must have been of a very temporary character, since it does not figure to any extent in the numerous papers referring to the period.

From the camp on Six-Town Point Villiers despatched scouts to watch the English at Oswego, the garrison of which had been considerably reinforced, and his Abenakis and Ottawas brought in many scalps and prisoners.[57] In the early part of June (1756) an English sloop attended by eight galleys landed a party on the "Ile aux Galots" who intended to remain some days on a reconnaissance. It happened that a band of Villiers' Indians saw the landing, and they hastened to the camp to notify their commander. Under cover of darkness a force was sent in canoes to surprise the enemy. The enterprise was successful; fifteen of the English were killed or captured, and among the latter the commander of the scouting party. The remainder managed to reach their vessels and made their escape to Oswego.

First Naval Battle on the Great Lakes.[58]

Between Fort Frontenac and Camp de l'Observation the French vessels were constantly passing with men and supplies, carrying despatches, and incidentally guarding the approaches to the two posts. "On the 25th June," writes Governor Vaudreuil, "as our two Corsairs were cruising between the "Islands of Couis (the Ducks) and the Galots, one of them being near the Bay of Nioure got intelligence of a schooner returning to Chauagen (Oswego)." The two French vessels pursued the stranger but she managed to elude them.

The following day the two "corsairs" having spent the night in Henderson Bay were returning to Fort Frontenac, when three English sails were sighted approaching from the Ducks. The French immediately attacked them, and after putting two of the enemy's vessels to flight captured a twenty-ton sloop with six sailors and eight soldiers. This is noteworthy as the first naval battle which took place upon the Great Lakes. It was fought in the neighborhood of Galloup Island and close to the present boundary line between Canada and Jefferson County.

Montcalm's Expedition Against Oswego.[59]

Meanwhile the Marquis de Montcalm had arrived in Canada to take command of the military operations He found the preparations for the attack upon Oswego almost completed; and, perceiving the strategic importance of the post, he determined to direct the expedition in person. On July 29th he arrived at Fort Frontenac, where three regiments of regulars,[60] numbering thirteen hundred men, together with seventeen hundred Canadians and Indians had already been assembled.

An officer of the Regiment of La Sarre gives some interesting details of the expedition. On the day of Montcalm's arrival this regiment embarked, encamped that night on Galloup Island, and on the following day arrived at Camp de l'Observation, where they constructed a number of ovens and commenced baking bread for the army. On August 5th the main body left Fort Frontenac and proceeded to Galloup Island where they were compelled to remain two days on account of rough weather. On the 8th they arrived at the camp in Nioure Bay

At dawn on the 9th the march began from the head of Henderson Harbor, Canadian and Indian scouts scouring the woods in advance, while the veteran grenadiers of La Sarre led the van. Across the portage to Stony Creek and along the sands of Ellisburgh toiled the French army. All that day and the succeeding night the march continued.

The batteaux laden with artillery, ammunition, and provisions, having rounded Stony Point, followed the troops. On the 12th Oswego was beseiged and two days later capitulated.

Having razed the fortifications "from cellar to rafter," and,having captured six sloops and a large quantity of munitions, Montcalm returned to Nioure Bay with sixteen or seventeen hundred prisoners. Among these was Colonel Peter Schuyler, nephew of the famous Indian commissioner Peter Schuyler, called by the Iroquois "Quider Schuyder," whose influence had preserved to England the friendship of the Confederacy during the latter part of the 17th century. At Camp de l'Observation Montcalm left the Regiment of La Sarre to supervise the transportation of the stores collected there, he himself with the rest of the army proceeding directly to Fort Frontenac.

It is probable that during the year 1757 a small detachment was stationed at the Nioure outpost,[61] but the immediate danger on the western frontier having been removed by the destruction of Oswego, the regular troops were recalled to take part in the campaign about Crown Point. It would appear that by the close of the year Camp de l'Observation had been abandoned on account of the numerical weakness of the Frontenac garrison. It was never again reoccupied.

Bradstreet's Expedition Against Frontenac.[62]

In 1758 the English again took the offensive and General Bradstreet with an army of four thousand men proceeded to Oswego and marched thence along the lakeshore to Henderson Bay, where on August 26th he was discovered by Indian scouts from Fort Frontenac. On the next day twenty-six hundred English appeared before the fort, which surrendered without resistance since its garrison consisted of but fifty-three men. Having burned the buildings and scuttled five of the seven vessels in the port retaining only two twenty-ton brigs, Bradstreet retired to Henderson Bay before he was intercepted by the French troops already en route up the St. Lawrence.

Accompanying General Bradstreet in this expedition were Colonel Phillip Schuyler and Captain Horatio Gates, the one to be honored by posterity for his magnanimous patriotism at the battle of Saratoga, the other to be condemned for his jealous intrigues against Schuyler and Washington. A lieutenant in the expedition was George Clinton, who became New York's governor and a vice-president of the United States.

The army remained some days on the shores of Henderson Bay, but finding the French troops had turned back on learning of the fall of Fort Frontenac they retired to Fort Bull carrying with them the

artillery which they had captured, many of the cannon being brass pieces, which had been taken from Braddock at the time of his disasterous defeat, and had later been used by Montcalm in his attack upon Oswego

French Scouting Camps.

The general successes of the English arms forced the French to contract their western line of defense along the St. Lawrence. La Presentation and a redoubt, Fort Levis, at the head of the Galop Rapids became the guardians of the upper river, although scouting parties were to be found in Lake Ontario. There was in August, 1759, a small entrenched camp on Galloup Island, and other temporary camps appear to have been situated on Grenadier Island and on the mainland near the present site of Cape Vincent.[63] From these outposts the coureurs de bois and the Indians kept in close touch with the English operations on the upper Mohawk and further west.

Lord Amherst's Expedition.[64]

But the great conflict for North America was nearly ended. Quebec fell on September 17, 1759, and Governor Vaudreuil fled to Montreal, where he bravely maintained the hopeless struggle for another year. Finally on September 7, 1760, three armies invested the town, and the Governor was forced to make a general capitulation of Canada. The largest of the three English armies was under the command of General Lord Amherst, and came down the St. Lawrence from Oswego.

During the summer troops had continued to arrive at Oswego preparatory to the final scene in the great drama. On the arrival of Lord Amherst and his staff Colonel Sir Frederick Haldimand was sent forward to the outlet of Ontario with a small detachment to drive in the enemy's outposts, but he found that the French had withdrawn to the neighborhood of La Presentation. The army shortly arrived in a large fleet of transports, and proceeded down the St. Lawrence to fight the last battle of the war at Fort Levis.

It is interesting to note the officers of this expedition that passed through the waters of this region, the names of whom have become familiar to every American through the parts played by them in the War for Independence. Among them were General Thomas Gage and Lieutenant Israel Putnam, fifteen years later to be rival commanders in the opening scenes of the Revolution. Holding commissions were Horatio Gates and Charles Lee, the two soldiers of fortune who had come to America with General Braddock. Espousing the cause of the colonists in the apparent hope of personal gain the two comrades

attained high military rank in the Continental Army, but closed their careers, the one as an unscrupulous intriguer against his great commander, the other as a trator to his adopted country. In charge of the seven hundred Iroquois, who accompanied Amherst's army was Sir William Johnson, the famous Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and with him were his nephew and son-in-law Guy Johnson and Colonel John Butler, the notorious Tory leaders of the New York frontier.

The Fort on Carleton Island.

With the English conquest of Canada the importance of this region as a borderland ceased for a time, and it is not until 1774 that it is again mentioned. In that year Sir Frederick Haldimand, the commander of the British forces in America, in connection with a general scheme of military occupation of the Great Lakes, caused a fort or stockaded camp, to be erected on Buck or Deer Island, now called Carleton Island. It seems probable that General Haldimand's knowledge of the locality acquired as the commander of the advance guard of Amherst's army had much to do with the selection of the spot for the fortification.

The outbreak of the American Revolution in the year following the construction of the post on Carleton Island again made this region the frontier between warring peoples, but it did not occupy the same relative importance to the events of that period that it had to those of the English and French wars. In the latter struggle the southern shores of Ontario had been almost continually in the possession of England or her savage allies; but in the Revolution the American line of defense lay along the Mohawk and Susquehanna, Ontario being entirely controlled by the English posts at Niagara, Oswego, Frontenac and Carleton Island.

With the commencement of hostilities Colonel Guy Johnson, who upon the death of Sir Wiliam had succeeded to the office of Indian Commissioner fled from Guy Park on the Mohawk to Oswego accompained by the infamous Butlers, father and son, and the Mohawk chieftain Thayendanegea, known commonly by his English name of Joseph Brant. At Oswego Johnson assembled a great council of fifteen hundred Indians; and, exercising the power of the Johnson name, he persuaded the large majority to cast their lot with England, only the Oneidas and a portion of the Tuscaroras of the Iroquois Comfederacy preferring the friendship of the rebelling colonists.[65]

This council occurred in May, 1775. Two months later the Tory leaders with a chosen band of warriors and about two hundred

Loyalists passed through this region on their way to Montreal.[66] In the following year Sir John Johnson, the son and heir of the old baronet, and Colonel Daniel Claus, another son-in-law of Sir William, abandoning their estates on the Mohawk, fled to Canada, where the former raised a Tory regiment known as the "Royal Greens."

From the time that the British authorities had sanctioned the employment of savages to reduce the colonists to submission,[67] the fort on Deer Island, which in 1777 or 1778 was renamed Carleton Island, became a favorite resort for the bands of Tories and Indians, who harried the outlying settlements of the New York frontier perpetrating the most horrible atrocities upon their former neighbors and friends.[68]

St. Leger's Expedition.[69]

In conjunction with the advance of General Burgoyne by way of Lake George, and as a part of the British plan of campaign of 1777, Major Barry St. Leger was directed to proceed to Lake Ontario and from that point strike Fort Schuyler (more commonly referred to by its old name of Fort Stanwix), march down the Mohawk valley and attack General Schuyler's army in the flank or rear. In advance of St. Leger's army of seventeen hundred men Colonel Claus and Sir John Johnson with the "Johnson Greens" went up the St. Lawrence; and Colonel Claus, who had become Superintendent of the Canadian Indians fixed upon Carleton Island as the place of rendezvous for the savages who were to accompany the expedition. On July 8th St. Leger with his troops arrived and about the same time came Colonel John Butler from Oswego.

St. Leger, having supplied the Indians with arms, ammunition and vermillion, and having offered, it is alleged, a liberal bounty for scalps,[70] left Carleton Island and advanced to Henderson Bay where the troops disembarked and commenced the march down the coast. It had been the original intention to take the trail from Salmon River to Oneida Lake, but the British commander on reaching that river unwisely issued a quart of rum to each savage, "which," as Claus writes, "made them all beastly drunk, and in which case it is not in the power of man to quiet them." As a result the plan of march was changed, and the expedition continued along the coast to Oswego, where Brant had collected a large war-party to co-operate with St. Leger.

Fortunately for the cause of American independence the attempted flank movement ended in failure. The battle of Oriskany

turned the tide against the British arms and was the beginning of the disaster which culminated in the surrender of Burgoyne and his army at Saratoga.

On the return of St. Leger's expediton from Oswego a severe storm was encountered near the entrance to the St. Lawrence; several transports were wrecked on the rocky shore of Point Peninsula, and others barely escaped by taking refuge in Chaumont Bay.

The prisoners, a number of whom had been taken, were brought to Lake Ontario with the retreating army; and through the indifference or wanton cruelty of the British commander several were permitted to remain in the hands of the savages. In view of the losses sustained by the Indians at Oriskany and about Fort Schuyler this action of St. Leger was peculiarly atrocious. It is said, that a band of Ottawas crossing from Henderson to Quinte stopped at Galloup Island, and there tortured to death and devoured one of these wretched captives ,his bones being discovered not long after by an American scouting party from Fort Schuyler.

Fort Haldimand.[71]

Soon after the defeat and capture of Burgoyne Sir Guy Carleton was at his own request retired as Governor of Canada, though remaining in the military service. He was succeeded by Major General Haldimand. The new governor was famliar with the strategic points in the defense of the upper St. Lawrence, and at once determined to make the stockaded camp on Carleton Island a permanent post to control the southern channel of the river. For this purpose he sent engineers to the island in 1778, and caused the construction of a fort, which was known as Fort Haldimand.

At Carleton Island the British built a number of vessels for the navigation of Lake Ontario, and the post became a principal rendezvous for the scalping parties which harassed the New York frontier. The Indians flocked there from the south and west; and on the mainland opposite the island appears to have been their "Great Camp."[72] There the savage kindled their council-fire and held their wild orgies, exchanged the bloody trophies of massacre for English gold, and boasted of their crimes.

It was at Carleton Island before and after the construction of Fort Haldimand that Brant aroused the blood-thirst of the Mohawks and sent them forth, with the Tories of Colonel John Butler and his son, Walter the most infamous villain of the border, to ply the torch and hatchet in the valleys of central New York. It was there that Sir Guy Johnson delivered to the Indian chiefs presents

from the English king, and urged them on in their work of slaughter and pillage by the promise of future reward.

The grey ruins of Fort Haldimand still stand as a gaunt monument to the black deeds which were hatched within its walls when the Johnsons and the Butlers sat there in council with Brant and his chieftains—a crumbling memorial of a nation's crime in subjecting a kindred people to the horrors of an Indian war, in which neither age nor sex protected from nameless cruelties.

After the peace of 1783 the uncertainty of the northern boundaries left the fort in the possession of Great Britain. In 1796 surveyors of the Macomb Purchase found there a British corporal and three soldiers.[73] Possession so continued, the Canadian authorities controlling both channels of the St. Lawrence, until the post was captured by the Americans at the opening of the War of 1812.[74]

Conclusion.

The allotted period of local history closes here. Looking back over the years prior to the first settlement in the wilderness, where are now the farms and villages and cottage-lined bays and islands of Jefferson County, one cannot but be impressed with its interesting past. Its waters and shores have witnessed events which have controlled the destinies of this continent. Its soil has been trod by men famous in the annals of American history.

In the long roll of distinguished names are those of Champlain Frontenac and La Salle; La Barre, Denonville and Mantet; Vaudreuil and Montcalm; the Jesuits, Le Moyne, Lamberville and Charlevoix; the great Iroquois chieftains, Kryn and Thayendanegea; the British generals Bradstreet and Amherst, Gage and Haldimand; the soldiers of fortune, Horatio Gates and Charles Lee; the American patriots, Putnam and Schuyler and Clinton; Sir William Johnson, Sir Guy and Sir John; those scourges of the border, the Butlers and Claus; besides those of many others who were conspicuous in the stirring scenes enacted during the 17th and 18th centuries along the great river of Canada and the lake from which it flows.

From the first tradition of the Iroquois this region has been the disputed land of nations; the Canaan of the West. Its wooded shores and rocky islets have echoed the yells of savage warriors; its dark forests have rung with the tramp of marching soldiery; across its waters have sounded the boom of cannon and the cries of combat. Not until the energies of the new-born republic had transformed the wilderness into broad pastures and waving grain-fields did peace come to this land of conflict, and even then it was to once again hear the noise of battle.

Ninety years have passed since the last hostile shot sounded in this region. May it be the will of heaven that never again shall this border-land of ours become the theater of war, but that the future may hold in store for Jefferson County peace and prosperity to the end.

APPENDIX

EARLY MAPS AND GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

It is natural to expect that the maps of newly-discovered regions should at the first be very imperfect, but that with increasing knowledge and more careful observations the mistakes should disappear. This did indeed happen in regard to the territory, now within the boundaries of Jefferson County, but the corrections were made much later and took much longer to secure general acceptance than might be supposed. Even during the last quarter of the 18th century the upper St. Lawrence and the eastern portion of Lake Ontario were incorrectly delineated on the maps.

The trouble in this particular case seems to have been that the map-makers derived their data from the writings or sketch-maps of historical chroniclers and unscientific travellers who paid little attention to actual locations and were indifferent to or negligent of distance and direction.

Furthermore, cartographers are usually, perhaps wisely so, extremely cautious in the adoption of information contradictory of existing maps. They assume that their predecessors had proper and sufficient data, and unless conclusively proven to be false they are unwilling to assume the responsibility of changing them as charted. From this attitude of map-makers toward maps already drawn, and from the further fact that maps are unaccompanied by the data consulted in their preparation, mistakes once made are copied and recopied, each copy forming cumulative proof on the supposition that the copyists had confirmed the truth by independent investigation. As a result cartography, particularly that of a hundred years ago, is peculiarly liable to perpetuate errors arising from incomplete knowledge, misinformation and conjecture.

Trend of Ontario's Shore.

This persistency of geographical error is demonstrated by an examination of the maps of this region published during the 17th and

18th centuries, which often make uncertain the location of places named by contemporaneous writers and in the official documents.

The most noticeable fault in the earlier maps is the trend of the eastern shore of Lake Ontario, which is extended northeast and southwest, instead of north and south as it should be. The result is that there is no defined outlet to the lake but a gradual narrowing like a wedge, the southern and eastern shores being merged into one. This error which affects the points of the compass as given in documents is very marked in the maps of Champlain (1632), Galinee((1669), and Joliet (1674). It is less marked in a map made about 1683, preserved in the Archives of the Marine at Paris, and has entirely disappeared in the map of the Jesuit, Pierre Raffeix (1688), yet to show how persistent such an error may become and how later observers may through carelessness confirm it, it may be noted that Charlevoix, the Jesuit historian in 1721 stated that looking westward from the head of Galloup Island he could see the mouth of the Oswego River, while in fact from that island Oswego lies almost due south.

Islands Near the Outlet of Ontario

The next prominent fault is the location of the islands in Ontario near its outlet. (It is not strange that the islands in the St. Lawrence should, before an accurate survey had been made, be shown conventionally.) In the earlier maps the lake islands are scattered about with little regard to their number, extent and location. In the Champlain map (1632), however, two unnamed islands are shown in shape and situation corresponding to Galloup and Stony Islands with an accuracy which could only have been acquired from actual observation.

On the Raffeix map (1688) for the first time appear "Iles des "Gallots" in nearly their proper position, although the large estuary east of the islands, formed by Chaumont, Black River and Henderson Bays is contracted into the mouth of a narrow river.

Some fifty years after the Raffeix Map there was issued a French map(1744), which is in the Paris Marine Archives. This shows "I. aux Galots" quite accurately placed, but the "I. aux Chevreuils" (Grenadier Island) and the "I. aux Reynards" appear between the Ducks and Galloup Island, and the former between Grenadier Island and Fort Frontenac.

A few years later (1758) the London Magazine published a map of Fort Frontenac "with adjacent countries" to illustrate the military operations in that region. Upon it "Deer Island" (Ile aux Chevreuils) and "Foxes Island" (Ile aux Reynards) are located due

west of the southern point of the "Bay of Niaoure" (the estuary formed by Chaumont, Black River and Henderson Bays), which would be Six-Town Point. To the southeast of these islands and very close to the mouth of Stony Creek are three islands named on the map "I. aux Galots." Stony Point, called "Traverse Point", appears also at the mouth of this creek. The confusion of locations and the errors are so great as to forbid explanation, but they demonstrate the ignorance of the English concerning the geography of the region.

Another English map, which may be considered authoritative, was one of the Province of New York made by the cartographer Sauthier (1777) under the direction of the last provincial governor, and published in London in 1779. On it the "Couis" (Ducks), "Chevreuils, "Renards" and "Galots" are laid down with approximate accuracy as to location, although the last islands are composed of a group of seven and are very extraordinary in shape. Six-Town Point and also Stony Point are shown, the latter being marked "Pt. de la Traverse, now Portland Point."

The peculiar contours of some of the islands may not be so erroneous as they appear in comparing them with the modern maps. The gravelly formation of many of the islands and the shores makes them susceptible to rapid change. As an instance of this fact, residents of the town of Henderson, who have been alive in the last forty years, remembered Campbell's Point Shoal in Henderson Bay as an island of several acres, although now submerged below the surface of the lake. Undoubtedly other shoals were islands a century ago, and during that time the shore lines have materially changed.

Meaning of the Name "Galloup."

There has been at different times discussion of the meaning of the name which is now spelled "Galloup" or "Galloo", though no satisfactory conclusion seems to have been reached, and it is not now proposed to solve the problem but only to submit the facts which have bearing upon the subject. In the first place it is to be noted that this name is the only one in this section which has retained its French sound, if not its French spelling. It seems a significant fact that the English translated the names of the other islands given them by the French, but this has remained for two centuries practically the same. There may be any one of three reasons why this was so: (1) the name may have had the same sound in English and French and had the same meaning; (2) the word may have had no counterpart in English; and (3) the English may never have known

the meaning and so had to adopt it without change or else rename the island. Any one of these reasons may be the true one but the first would seem the most probable if supported by other evidence.

In the Raffeix map (1688) the name is spelled "Gallots" and in all the others referred to, in which the island or islands are named, it is spelled "Galots." (The preposition compounded with the article is "des" or "aux" showing the word is in the plural number). Now neither of these words belong to the French language as found in the French dictionaries. They must, therefore, be a corruption of an Indian word, which from their sound seems very improbable, or else a misspelled French word. If the latter is the correct explanation, there seem to be three words, any one of which might offer itself as a source of the name. These are (1) galets (pebbles), (2) the adjective galeux (scrufy), and (3) galiotes, also spelled galliotes (small galleys used in the Mediterrean Sea and having one mast and seats for sixteen or twenty oarsmen). While the first word suggested has some strong points in its favor, namely, the pebbly character of the shores of the island and the fact that the word is masculine, the persistency of the ending "ots" is strongly against it. The second word being an adjective and not a noun, and being very different in spelling seems the least probable of the three. The third word, on the other hand, has the strongest claim for consideration in spite of its feminine gender, which ignorance, carlessness, or an obsolete masculine form may explain away.

In the first place in writing the word "galiotes" mistake or lack of knowledge might have dropped the letter "i" or changed it to the letter "l". The "e" may have been dropped through error as to the gender or may not have existed if there was an early masculine form. In the second place the French used for navigation on the lake flat-bottomed barges or scows fitted with a single mast and banks of oars, similiar to the small Mediterranean galleys, and the 'Ile aux Gallots" was one of the principal places of refuge and refreshment for these vessels in crossing from Fort Frontenac to the southern shore. And in the third place the English name for craft of this sort is galiots or galliots, practically the same word appearing on the French maps, which would account for the continuance of the name on the English maps.

"Deer Island" of the English Maps.

The name of another island, which is often mentioned in the documents relating to this region, is the Ile aux Chevreuils (Island of the Roebucks), now called Grenadier Island. The name, which may be translated, as it is in the London Magazine Map (1758),

"Deer Island", or in order to preserve the gender "Buck Island", has been often applied to Carleton Island. From this fact the fort on the latter island has been by some supposed to be of French origin, through confusing it with a temporary scouting camp which the French for a time maintained on the "Ile aux Chevreuils." On the Sauthier official Map (1779) Carleton Island is put down as the "Ile a la Biche" (the Island of the Roe), which also may be translated "Deer Island" as it was by the English officers stationed there in 1777-1778, though not "Bucks Island" or "Buck Island" as was subsequently done in complete diregard of the original gender. It is apparent that the natural consequences of such loose translations would result in confusion and contradictions as to the location of the original Deer Island or Buck Island.

Omission of Black River from the Maps.

Turning again to the cartographical errors a mistake, which at once catches the eye, is the general omission of Black River from the maps, even the Sauthier Map (1779) has no suggestion of it. Only in the Champlain Map (1632), in which the distances are so uncertain as to make very difficult the identificatioan of streams, and in the Raffeix Map (1688), in which no bay is shown at the mouth, the river entering abruptly into the lake, is the existence of this prominent natural feature of this reegion recognized.

This omission is explainable from the fact that the inland region was not on the route usually followed by white men through this territory. The configuration of the shoreline between Mexico Bay and the St. Lawrence, and the location of the islands along the coast were of far greater practical importance to the travellers and officials of the period when the maps were prepared than the marking of a river which was for thirty miles from its mouth unnavigable for canoes.

Nioure Bay

The arm of the lake, embracing Chaumont, Black River and Henderson Bays, was known as Nioure, Niouare, Niaouenre and Nivernois Bay, and for a considerable time after the settlement of this county as Hungry or Hungary Bay. This body of water does not appear on the maps until the 18th century, and its shape like its name changes with each cartographer. At the first it is a broad estuary extending directly inland with a few islands scattered along its southern shore, but in the Sauthier Map (1779) it has assumed something like its proper shape, so far as Henderson Bay is concerned, but Chaumont Bay is much too small, while Black River Bay is not shown at all.

In this map Six-Town Point is much too large and too prominent, being in fact of much greater area than Point Peninsula. Stony Creek, called "R. de l'Assomption", "Assumption Riv." and "R. a Mr. de Comte", is shown with much plainness, its upper course flowing near the head of Nioure Bay, between which and the river Sauthier marks the portage which was commonly travelled.

The Region Inland

On the Sauthier Map (1779), to the eastward of Niaouenre Bay lies a large unnamed lake near the present site of Watertown, and still further to the east are immense tracts of marsh-land dotted over with ponds. Across this latter region are printed the words "full of Beavers and Otters." While it is possible that a century and a half ago the swamp to the west of Watertown was a body of water of considerable extent, it seems to be more probable that the map-maker was depicting Perch Lake, and that the marshes and ponds were those of the Indian River, the favorite hunting grounds of the Iroquois.

Map Names of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River.

The names borne by Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River are shown in the following table:

Date	Map of	Lake Ontario	St. Lawrence River
1624	Sir William Alexander.		The Great River of Canada.
1632	Champlain	Lac St. Louis	
1642	——In French Archives	Lac Ontario	
1647	Robert Dudley ,		R. Di Canada
1656	Sanson	Ontario ou Lac de St. Louis.	La Grande Riviere.
1658	Duvals Atlas	Lac St. Louis	D. de Canada
1669	Galinee	Ontario	
1674	Joliet	Lac Frontenac	
1681	(?) Joliet	L. Ontario	
1683	(?) In French Archives.	Lac Ontario ou Frontenac	
1683	Hennipin.	L. Frontenac.	Fl: de St. Lawrence
1688	Raffeix	Lac Ontario ou de St. Louis	
1697	Hennipin.	L. Ontario ou Frontenac.	
1744	In French Archives	Ontario	Flauve St. Laurent
1758	London Magazine	Lake Ontario	Iroquois or Catarakui River.
1779	Sauthier	Oneario Lake	River Cadarakuoi

The name "River of Canada" and also "River of the Iroquois" appear frequently in the English documents as a name for the St. Lawrence; and Cadwallader Colden in comparing the nomenclatures of the English and French gives for the French "Ontario lac" and for the English "Cadarackui Lake".

It is apparent from the foregoing table, including fourteen maps in which Lake Ontario is named, that the name "Ontario" has persisted from the first in spite of the attempts of the French to change it to St. Louis and later to "Frontenac".

On the other hand the name of "St Lawrence" for the river does not appear to have come into use until the latter part of the 17th century. Prior to that time the "River of Canada" and the "Great River of Canada" seem to have been the names employed. The English cartographers in the 18th century named the river "Cadarakoui" connecting it with the native name for Fort Frontenac and also termed it "The River of the Iroquois". The name "St. Lawrence" was from the first applied to the Gulf of St. Lawrence and later was extended to embrace the great river flowing into it.

REFERENCES

1. History of Jefferson County, F. B. Hough, p. 9; Transactions of Jefferson County Historical Society (1895), p. 53; Ibid. (1886-1887), p. 58 and p. 105.

2. Journal, III Documentary History of New York, p. 1107, et seq. For a critical examination of Mr. Taylor's statements see Address of W. H. Beauchamp, Transactions of Jeff. Co. Hist. Soc. (1886-1887), p. 105.

3. The Problem of the Ohio Mounds, C. Thomas, Bureau of Ethnology, 1889; The Aboriginal Races of North America, S. G. Drake, B'k 4 chaps 13-16; Information respecting the Indian Tribes, H. R. Schoolcraft, pt. 5, p. 133.

4 The meaning of the name "Iroquois" or "Hiroquois" has been the subject of much discussion,, and several solutions have been suggested. The most probable seems to be that it comes from the Iroquois-Huron word "GAROKWA" a pipe or piece of tobacco, and in the verbal form, to smoke. IROQUOIS might be translated "they who smoke." (Iroquois Book of Rites, H. Hale, App., Note A.) It should be stated, however, that this derivation does not meet the views of W. H. Beauchamp, although he offers no better.

5. In 1715 the Tuscaroras, a kindred tribe resident in North Carolina, immigrated to the southern part of the Province of New York, and were admitted to the Confederacy, which was known afterward to the English as "The League of the Six Nations," Hodenosaunee was the Seneca name; Rotinonsionni, the Mohawk and Kannoseone the Onondaga.

6. Remonstrance of the People of New Netherland, 1649, I New York Colonial Documents, p. 281.

7. Historical Essays, John Fiske, Vol. II, p. 94; Works of Francis Parkman covering the period from 1630 to 1700; League of the Iroquois, Lewis H. Morgan, Vol. I p. 11; History of the New York Iroquois, W. H. Beauchamp, N. Y. State Museum Bulletin 78, chaps. 7-12.

The Iroquois were first termed "the Romans of the West" by the French traveller and author of the 18th century, the Comte de Volney.

8. Governor Dongan, 1687, III N. Y. Col. Docs., p. 393; The Dutch and the Iroquois. Charles H. Hall (A paper read before the Long Island Historical Society and published in pamphlet form).

9. History of Jefferson County., Hough; p. 200.

10. The trail struck Salmon River about 12 miles from its mouth, where the Oneidas had a fishing village. IV N. Y. Col. Docs., p. 655; X Ibid; p. 675.

11. Historical Reminiscences, William Fayel, Transactions of Jeff. Co. Hist. Soc. (1886-1887), p. 92.

The trail between the Black River and the Indian River is marked on a map of New York State appearing in Munsell's Historical Series, Vol. I on Indian Affairs.

12. Northern New York and the Adirondack wilderness, N. B. Sylvester, p. 106.

13. League of the Iroquois, Morgan, B'k 1 chap. 1; History of the Five Indian Nations, Cadwallader Colden, Preface to the First Part; The People of the Long House, E. M. Chadwick (Toronto, 1897).

14. Cartier in 1535 visited the site of Montreal and found there an Indian village called Hochelaga. From the vocabulary of the natives, which the explorer preserved, it is certain that they were of the Iroquois-Huron stock. Seventy five years later when the French again visited the region Hochelaga was occupied by an Algonkin tribe See also History of the Iroquois, Beauchamp, p. 149.

15. The Adirondacks were of Algonkin stock.

16. It is a significant fact in relation to the course of migration that in both the myth and legend the Iroquois recognize that their ancestors came from the upper St. Lawrence and eastern end of Ontario to their lands in Central New York.

17. Pioneers of France in the New World, Francis Parkman, p. 370 et seq.; Champlain, the Founder of New France, E. A. Dix. p. 166 et. seq.; Champlain's Voyages, III Documentary History of New York, p. 12.

18. The original spelling of the name was "Kente," which indicates the proper pronunciation.

19. Northern New York and the Adirondack Wilderness, Sylvester, p. 35.

20. I Doc. Hist. of N. Y., pp. 62-63.

21. Canada, J. G. Bourinot, p. 147.

22. III History of New France, Rev. P. F. X. de Charlevoix, (Harper's ed., 1900) pp. 57-64.

23. IX N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 64-65.

24. Ibid, p. 82.

25. Ibid., pp. 95-113.

26. Ibid., p. 127.

27. Ibid., pp. 122-125.

28. Ibid, pp. 168, 173.

29. La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West, Francis Parkman, p. 122.

30. I Doc. Hist. of N. Y., pp. 95-143; IX N. Y. Col. Docs., pp.241-245; New Voyages to North America, La Hontan, (English ed. of 1703) Letters VII.

31 IX N. Y. Col. Docs., p. 175.

32. Ibid., pp. 202, 206.

33. La Famine. The location of this place has been the subject of much discussion; and while recent investigators have almost without exception identified the rendezvous of La Barre's army with the mouth of Salmon River in Oswego County, there are some excellent reasons for doubting the correctness of thus locating it.

It is not an unusual occurrence for geographical names through the ignorance or design of map-makers, to be transferred from one locality to another. Thus on some maps Black River is named "Riviere de Monsieur le Comte," while on others the name is ap-

plied to Stony Creek in Henderson. Black River as well as Salmon River has borne the name "Famine River," and on maps published about 1800, and even later, Henderson Bay appears as "Hungry Bay." These are cited only for the purpose of showing the common practice of transferring place-names, and not as a basis for a claim that they were properly used. Another use of the name of a particular locality was to extend it so as to embrace surrounding regions. An instance of this may be found in the case of Cadaraqui, originally the name of a river flowing into Ontario, then of a village on its banks, later of a considerable territory and also of the St. Lawrence River.

There can be no doubt that Salmon River was the original "Riviere de la Famine." Charlevoix, who visited the region in 1721 and who wrote his history of New France some years later, states that the name was given because of La Barre's unfortunate experience; and he locates the place on a bay "four or five leagues from the mouth of the River toward Montreal" (III History of New France, Harpers ed., 1900, p.253). This may have been true of the place of conference between La Barre and the Onondagas, but was not true of the original La Famine, for on March 13, 1682, two years earlier than La Barre's expedition, Frontenac opposed meeting the Onondagas "near La Famine" (IX N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 172 253). The proposal for that meeting was made by Jean de Lamberville, the Jesuit resident in the Onondaga villages, and the place proposed was not at La Famine but "near La Famine." This seems worthy of note, since the same priest two years later arranged the conference with La Barre. In view of the succeeding events it was natural to suppose that the name originated in the sufferings of La Barre's army, as was believed Charlevoix and others who have followed him as an authority.

In view of the facts stated, the place of meeting not being at La Famine proper but nearer the St. Lawrence than Salmon River, the most probable bay seems to be that at the mouth of Sandy Creek in Ellisburgh. It was at this place in 1802 that Rev. John Taylor speaks of the remains of a batteau being uncovered in a marsh and of iron instruments of European manufacture being found. Though this may have been a coincidence, it is a fact that La Barre was forced to abandon some of his batteaux at the place of conference.

If this is the correct solution of the problem it becomes unnecessary to make La Famine of La Barre and of Charlevoix coincide with the older name as applied by Lamberville and others to Salmon River.

See also in this connection Appendix, Early Maps and Geographical Names.

34. The Dutch forest-runners were called "bosslopers"; the English, "bushrangers."

35. IX N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 277, 279.

36. III Doc. Hist. of N Y., p. 1140.

37. IX N. Y. Col. Docs., p. 261.

38. Ibid., p. 269.

39. Ibid., pp. 359-369.

40. Ibid., p. 331.

41. Ibid., pp. 969, 999.

42. Ibid, p. 352.

43 IV History of New France, Charlevoix, p. 123.

44. Ibid., pp. 12-13; History of the Five Indian Nations, pt. 1, chap. VI.

45. Colden calls the chief "Adario."

46. Some authorities state that the ambuscade took place at the first rapids of the St. Lawrence. Charlevoix says that it was at Hungry Bay. It undoubtedly occurred before the envoys reached Fort Frontenac, for from that point so important a deputation would have been accompanied by one or more Frenchmen.

47. IX N. Y. Col. Docs:. p. 436.

48. Ibid. pp. 649-656.

49. Ibid., p. 602; IV History of New France, Charlevoix, p. 265.

50. IV History of New France, Charlevoix, pp. 121-122.

51 I Doc. Hist. of N. Y., pp. 443-506.

52. IX N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 973, 975.

53. X N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 308, 403.

54 Ibid., p. 403; History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, F. B. Hough, p. 63.

55. X N. Y. Col. Docs. pp. 441, 443.

56. Ibid., pp. 398, 415.

57. Ibid., p. 426.

58 I Doc. Hist. of N. Y., p. 481.

59. X. N. Y. Col. Docs., pp. 440-467.

60. The three regiments were those of La Sarre, Guyenne, and Bearn, the last being the famous "Irish Regiment," composed of Roman Catholic refugees, who had gone into voluntary exile rather than submit to the oppressive acts of the English Parliment. As to the conditions, see History of England, Macaulay chap. 17 and People's History of Ireland, John F. Finnetry, chaps. IX and X.

61. X. N. Y. Col. Docs., p. 672.

62. Ibid., pp. 823-834.

63. Ibid, p. 1031.

64. History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, Hough, pp. 90, 99.

65. Sir Guy Johnson credits Samuel Kirtland, a missionary among the Oneidas with having won them to the American cause. VIII N. Y. Col. Docs,. p. 687.

66. Ibid., p. 636.

67. Governor Tryon to Lord George Germaine, Ibid., p. 756.

68. Ibid, p. 779.

69. Ibid., p. 719; History of the Iroquois, Beauchamp, p. 356.

70. History of the Iroquois, Beauchamp, p. 355, quoting Mary Jemison.

71. See the interesting pamphlet "The Old Fort and Its Builders," by Major J. H. Durham (Cape Vincent, N. Y., 1889).

72. It is so located on the Sauthier Map of 1779, though other authorities place it on French Creek in the town of Clayton.

73. History of Jefferson County, Hough, p. 22.

74. Ibid., p. 462.

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